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The Southern Frontier

We dedicate ourselves to the task of doing the most and the best that can be done here and now.

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LAW AND ORDER IN THE SOUTH

Police and the People

A vitally significant pamphlet, "The Police and the Minority Groups", has been issued by the International City Managers' Association of Chicago.* Written by J. E. Weckler, of the American Council on Race Relations, and Theo E. Hall, Chief of Police in Wilmette, Illinois, the pamphlet presents a program to prevent disorder and to improve relations between different racial, religious, and national groups in the United States.

Cited as a good example of riot prevention is the action taken in June, 1943, in Houston, Texas, where Negroes traditionally celebrate "Juneteenth" day by a parade and street carnival. The report states: "As the occasion drew near, rumors began sweeping through the white population that the Negroes were going to start a riot, and a movement to attack the Negro parade began to develop among some of the white citizens. The police chief met with the mayor, the bi-racial commission, and a number of influential citizens, both white and colored. They drew up a proclamation stating that the celebration would be held according to plan, that there would be no trouble, and that any person, white or Negro, who tried to interfere with the parade or the celebration would be arrested. This proclamation was signed by the people who drew it up and published as a full-page notice in all the daily papers. The celebration was a great success and there were no disturbances. It is said, in fact, that the occasion was the most peaceful Juneteenth celebration in Houston's history."

The authors suggest several goals in the training of police for the effective handling of human relations. These goals require:

1. That policemen treat all persons on an equally impersonal and neutral basis.
2. Policemen should avoid the use of any slang or vulgar terms to describe any race or nationality.
3. They should use no more force than necessary on any particular individuals merely because they belong to a particular minority group.
4. Police officers must remain neutral in any dispute or disagreement between members of two groups, lest they undermine police prestige and effectiveness.

The report concludes that "*Police can prevent race riots.* Not only can they prevent such riots from occurring, but, should they occur, intelligent police methods can minimize their consequences. At the same time, lax police policies contribute to race riots and antiquated methods of coping with riots can greatly aggravate their consequences."

* The address of the Association is 1313 East 60 Street, Chicago 37, Ill. The price of the pamphlet is 50 cents a copy.

The Attorneys General

The attorneys general from 13 Southern states met in conference in Memphis in early September to discuss regional problems of law and order. According to the United Press the Attorney General of South Carolina said the "Supreme Court ruling opening Texas primaries to negroes had been sidestepped in Carolina by the erasure of all statutory reference to primary elections. . . . 'We cling to the idea that we are going to nominate, as a group of men, candidates of our own choosing and we hope to continue to make the South Carolina primary one of white control'."

The chief legal officer of Alabama urged that the states should exercise more zealously "their rights to impose reasonable regulations on labor organizations," rights which he said were not destroyed by the national labor relations act. "Certain individual rights should be guaranteed the worker which will raise his standard of living, provide against unemployment, and at the same time protect industry's rights and guarantee a fair profit for the employer."

Alabama and the Police

Mayor Scherf of Andalusia, Alabama, "took immediate steps" to have discharged from the police force of that town a night policeman who "lost his temper and struck a Negro prisoner with a blackjack." In a letter to the editor of the Andalusia *News* Mayor Scherf said, "I am not going to stand for the mistreatment of a prisoner, *even though he be a negro.*" (Italics ours. Ed.)

Georgia Farmer Shoots 14 . . . Negroes

At Oglethorpe, Georgia, a white farmer fired a 20-gauge shot-gun into a crowd of Negroes in front of their church, shooting "13 or 14," seriously injuring four of them. According to the Savannah *Press,* the farmer "was found in the car at a white church a short distance away."

A Newspaper Crusades

A judge of the City Court of Columbus, Georgia, sentenced two 'teen-age Negro girls to twelve months at the State Farm for appearing on the highway in bathing suits. They had been swimming in a nearby creek, they said. The Columbus *Ledger* recited the facts of the case, protested the enormity of the punishment and indicated that such actions were but incitations to racial bitterness. Six of the city's leading lawyers formed themselves into a committee and called upon the judge of the court. They directed his attention to technical irregularities in the trial and asked him to review the procedure. The judge did so, vacated the sentence and set it aside. In commenting upon the case the Atlanta *Journal* said editorially, "the harsh punishment inflicted upon them by the lightly considered action of the court was repugnant to the conscience of the community and could hardly fail to convince Negro citizens that the law had one standard for whites and another for the colored."

Mississippi Murder

Isaac Simmons, a 66-year-old Negro minister of Amite County, Mississippi, was slain there last March by a mob of six white men. The slayers took along the minister's son to witness the slaying and receive a severe beating. The six men were apprehended, given a preliminary hearing and released on individual bonds of $3,000 for appearance before a trial court. The murder arose out of the minister's efforts to get a clear title to the 225 acres of land which he and his family occupied.

South Carolina Home Guard

A riot broke out on the main street of Lake City, S. C., on a Saturday night when that thoroughfare was crowded. Three whites and three Negroes were injured. Order was restored an hour after the Florence (S. C.) home guard force, fully

(*Continued on Page* 3)

Annual Meeting

The annual meeting of the Southern Regional Council will be held in Atlanta on Wednesday, December 6, 1944, at 10:30 A. M.

Official notices are being sent to all members.

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To attain through research and action programs the ideals and practices of equal opportunity for all peoples in the region.

Editorial

"The Law"

One of the greatest indictments against the South is that the region has too little regard for civil rights and public order. When trouble breaks out or when some unlawful incident occurs such as a riot, a lynching, or a wanton killing, a large measure of the blame is levied upon the municipal officials and the police. Experience, however, has shown the American people that it is almost impossible to handle any such tension situation "successfully." Deaths and injuries, damages to public morale, property destruction are inevitable consequences of these disorders.

In a region where white and colored people live side by side there is a great need for improving relationships between the divergent racial groups. There are basic problems of social adjustment that must be handled with the cooperation of the police—problems related to housing, transportation, recreation, and so on. The mere prevention of a riot or a lynching, the hastening of an electrocution, even the appointment of Negro policemen do little to change the established pattern of law observance and law enforcement in the region.

Above all there is needed a faithful regard for the administration of justice under the law by intellectually, socially, and physically capable officials. The full responsibility of securing such administration and such officials rests upon an active and intelligent citizenry.

We must not be satisfied with a smug correction of lawlessness. Such an *ex post facto* morality is second-handed justice. We must build a law-abiding South by lawful means and with a noncorruptible intent. Adequate enforcement and observance of the law go hand in hand in making the South socially decent. Without them we move toward the obvious rack and ruin of our democratic controls.

Primary Day in Georgia *

By WILLIAM ROSE BENET

He had two stars from the South Pacific,
But he couldn't vote when he got back.
His sin against Man was too terrific:
His face was black.

Everywhere there was oily politeness,
And no Jap near to cut your throat;
And those who remained at home in their whiteness
Had their vote.

But not for his color was even forgiven
The Librarian or the Ph.D.—
Though we're fighting everywhere under heaven
For Democracy.

The Election Boards were in fine fettle,
The electoral votes were all assured . . .
Far off, on islands, men met hot metal,
And strove and endured;

Black men with white men fought the devil
Brothers in wounds knew the worth of each;
For soldiers are strictly on the level
On a shell-torn beach.

So let us remember United Nations
And the People's World that we hope may be . . .
Please don't dwell upon Race Relations
In the Land of the Free!

* Reprinted by permission from *The Saturday Review of Literature*, July 22, 1944.

Book Review

*Freedom Road** is a novel by Howard Fast that is recommended to those who are interested in the relevance of a historical period about which too little has been told without the coloring of passionate feeling. It is a story, told with sensitivity and insight, of the eight years (1868-1876) that began with the Constitutional Convention in Charleston, and ended with the "deal" of the Hayes Republicans which sacrificed the beginnings of a democracy that had begun to have meaning for the poor whites and former slaves of the Southern region. It is the story of Gideon Jackson, a former slave who at the time of the "voting" could only write his name, and of the people whom he represented, first in the South Carolina Constitutional Convention, then as state senator, later as representative in Congress.

Gideon Jackson is a symbol, as are his friends and his enemies. The story has an urgent significance for those who would have the South of today and tomorrow become a region of abundance, learning, and decent life for all its people.

G. T. H.

* *Freedom Road*, by Howard Fast. New York: Duell, Sloan, and Pearce, 1944. $2.75.

S. R. C. Offices

The offices of the Southern Regional Council are now located in Wesley Memorial Building, Suite 432, 63 Auburn Avenue, N. E., Atlanta, Ga. All communications for *The Southern Frontier* and all correspondence to SRC should be sent to this new address.

For Your Reading

General

Citizen Toussaint. By Ralph Korngold. Boston: Little, Brown & Company, 1944. $3.00. A well-written story of the heroic Negro leader, Toussaint L'Ouverture, well known as soldier, statesman, and liberator.

Democracy Begins at Home. By Jennings Perry. Philadelphia: J. B. Lippincott Company, 1944. $3.00. An exceedingly interesting story of the Tennessee poll tax fight. A story which indicates that the poll tax *is* a part of politics.

Our Civil Liberties. By Osmond K. Fraenkel. New York: The Viking Press, 1944. $3.00. An analysis of the types of freedom you and I have in the United States. Very readable and of special interest to people living in the South.

Peace as a World Race Problem. A radio discussion by Louis Adamic and others. New York: The National Broadcasting Company. Pamphlet Number 335, August 20, 1944. Ten cents. A University of Chicago round-table discussion that gets somewhere.

Prejudice: Japanese-American Symbol of Racial Intolerance. By Carey McWilliams. Boston: Little, Brown & Company, 1944. $3.00. A controversial yet highly readable book, which indicates plans for action in another area of American prejudices.

The American Character. By D. W. Brogan. New York: Alfred A. Knopf, 1944. $2.50. An Englishman looks at Americans and interprets what we are and why we are that way. Highly interesting.

Veteran Comes Back. By Willard Waller. New York: Dryden Press, 1944. $2.75. The veteran's future is in your hands and your future is in his hands. Professor Waller indicates what might be done here and now.

What America Thinks. By William A. Lydgate. New York: Thomas Y. Crowell, 1944. $3.00. The author says among other things that "many more Southern whites want to help the Negro as a race than want to repress him further, or even to continue leaving his status unchanged."

What the Negro Wants. By Rayford W. Logan (Editor) *et al.* Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 1944. $3.50. The conservative, liberal, and radical opinion of fourteen Negroes, together with a fifteen-page introduction by W. T. Couch, Director of the University of North Carolina Press.

Fiction

Earth and High Heaven. By Gwethalyn Graham. Philadelphia: J. B. Lippincott Company, 1944. $2.50. A drama of human relationships in which two people in love are confronted by the obstacle of religious intolerance.

The Red Cock Crows. By Fraces Gaither. New York: The Macmillan Company, 1944. $2.75. A novel of the old South by a woman who "used to wonder if a white person could ever really know how Negroes feel," and still wonders.

Law and Order

(Continued)

armed and moving in riot formation, arrived at 11 P. M.

Virginia Petition

Seven hundred white and Negro persons signed a petition to the City Council of Roanoke, Virginia, requesting the appointment of Negro policemen to patrol the Negro sections of the city. The matter was referred to the city manager for action.

Witches Brew In Florida

Three Negroes, ages 16, 20, and 26 confessed to the raping of a young white woman in Quincy County, Florida, on the night of July 30. The trial scheduled for Quincy was to be held in a setting with 250 state guards and 60 highway patrolmen authorized to provide law and order. The patrolmen never reached Quincy. According to the St. Petersburg *Floridian*, "Deadly silent men stopped advance scout cars of the patrolmen, silenced their radios and held them where stopped, on the roads." The judge, after waiting six hours for the prisoners to arrive, ordered the trial transferred to Gainesville 168 miles away. By "due process of law" these Negro young men were sentenced to be executed on September 18. An appeal to the state supreme court was dismissed. Six motions to stay the execution were denied. The accused were electrocuted 71 days after commission of the crime.

The *Floridian* of September 2 called this situation a "completely untypical would-be-lynching . . . Perhaps half the business and white collar men of Tallahassee, including state employees, were massed on the roads into Gadsden." Significant facts, states the *Floridian*, are behind the incident. They bear repeating here, in part:

> . . . High wages in army camps for officers' wives, in lumbering, the draft drained away the negro labor supply, made those remaining independent, unreliable, high priced.
>
> There was a deep resentment among the whites, particularly the women.
>
> The whites, men and women, want their old comfortable world back, where a family can live in luxury on $200 a month, despite high clothes, food, gasoline and amusement.
>
> When faced with the question all they will say is that the negroes have become "uppity" and have to be put back in their place—which (though they won't admit it) is economic slavery, non-resentful humility.
>
> Of course, the people want to mete out the traditional southern payment for rape; but there is a much bigger, a more dangerous, a more shameful motive behind this almost unanimous determination of the "better element" of the white people of a whole region.
>
> And during the period Governor Holland sat in an awful loneliness in his office. Everybody knew where he stood Everybody respected his integrity, his determination, his sense of duty, his strong feeling for law and order and the orderly functioning of the processes of civilized justice and behavior.
>
> Not a person expressed a trace of anger at Holland. Nobody criticized his firm stand. Nobody opposed the solid man in the capital. They just ignored him . . .
>
> . . . Neither he nor his attitude is the issue. It is a way of life. It is not a matter of politics. It is not a matter primarily of emotions. It is an economic issue. The horribly marred life of the white girl, the sure death in some fashion of the three boys, is almost overlooked.
>
> It is not a pretty picture. The citizens of Leon and Gadsden prefer not to face it squarely.

A Southerner Speaks

By E. M. MARTIN, *Secretary, Atlanta Life Insurance Company*

I am 55 years old. I was born on a little muddy street on the outskirts of Atlanta, Georgia. I attended the public schools of Atlanta and then finished college from a Georgia institution. I married a Georgia girl and raised a family in the state of Georgia. I am one of the officers of a Georgia corporation that played a vital part in building. This Georgia institution that I have served for 32 years has paid hundreds of thousands of dollars in taxes to the Southern States. It has more than $6,000,000 invested in Georgia securities and over $2,000,000 in the War Bonds of our Federal Government. This year I sent one check for this institution in payment of premium taxes to the state of Texas for $43,658.32.

I have never sat upon any jury—State, or County or Federal—and I have never been permitted to cast a ballot in any election that counted save that for President of the Nation. A few months ago, after paying taxes for 32 years, I did receive a questionnaire pertaining to Federal jury service. It was addressed to "E. M. Martin (Colored)" and I threw it in the trash basket. If I cannot sit on a Federal or State jury as an American citizen without proscription, I do not care to sit at all.

Is there a Christian gentleman, is there a true lover of Democracy anywhere in America who will say that nine millions of Negro Americans in the South have gotten a fair deal from the national government? I tell you that, with very few exceptions here and there, not a single Negro was allowed to sit upon the Selective Service Boards of the South that have sent thousands and thousands of Negroes away to fight for Democracy and Freedom. Someone said years ago that "taxation without representation is tyranny," but I say that to help build and create a Nation, to blend our blood freely as we have in all its great wars, to perpetuate and build a great Nation to still greater heights, and then be denied by subterfuge and cunning the right to participate in that government, even the right to vote in the only primary that counts in the South, is hell itself.

Building a Post-War South

Two years ago the National Resources Planning Board through the Southeastern Regional Planning Commission formulated for the Southeast what it termed "a sound and practical program around which to organize its subsequent activities." The NRPB was discontinued but the report of the Southeastern Commission's findings provides a veritable blueprint of basic adjustments in the actual and potential human resources with which the South must be rebuilt. (See *Regional Planning, Part XI—The Southeast*, National Resources Planning Board, Washington 1942. For sale by the Superintendent of Documents, Washington, D. C. Price 55 cents.)

This report suggests that the Southeast must obtain a better balance between its physical and human resources and attain higher levels of living. This may stem from the following developments:

1. Opportunity for migration outside the region.
2. Opportunity for migration within the region.
3. A training of the population in higher skills.
4. More capital investment in land improvement.
5. Greater occupational opportunity for Negroes.
6. Adjustment of fertility rates.
7. Increasing incomes and widening markets.

The report says:

At the end of America's first war 166 years ago the statesmanship of the colonial South gave to the Nation the conception of unity and liberty for which 20 years ago and again today it is fighting in theaters of war abroad. The materials presented . . . make it clear that there is abundant opportunity for the economic statesmanship of the South, following the present war, to set an example for the Nation in securing and maintaining in this region "an ever-increasing release of the powers of human nature, in the service of a freedom which is cooperative and a cooperation which is voluntary."

Races Exhibit

The "Races of Mankind," an exhibit of the contribution of the major races of the world, their contributions to civilization and current superstitions about them, is shown in the Exhibition Room of the Atlanta University Library from October 29 through November 12. The exhibit was prepared by the Cranbrook Institute and is shown in Atlanta by the Southern Regional Council in cooperation with the People's College of Atlanta University.

Churchmen Act On Race

Here are two stories of what is being done by churchmen in the South in their efforts to face realistically the problems of racial adjustment.

The first story concerns the minister of a church who had been attempting to do all he could in the promotion of Christian race relations in a university community. A member of his congregation brought charges objecting to the minister's activity in this connection. The minister brought the charges to the attention of the members. In essence they were as follows: "(1) the Session should make regulations and give instructions to the minister on what he can do on race problems in the church; (2) the minister's duty is to work with the white students of the university and interracial work is unnecessary; (3) the minister should be made to stop trying to get all the Negroes to leave their churches for ours; (4) the minister and the church should be interested in justice, but political and economic problems are out of their field."

After a full and frank discussion of the contradictory opinions it was felt by the church that progress was being made toward a common view of the situation. The church, therefore, decided:

"(1) We agree that the pastor, in order to serve effectively, must have freedom of conscientious judgment and action in attempting to respond in the Spirit of Christ to the concrete situation which confronts him as he goes about his sacred calling.

"(2) We agree that this church should not fail to manifest a vocal and active concern and leadership in behalf of justice and good will in the relations between all the races, creeds, and classes of mankind. This obligation is especially binding in regard to the interracial relations of our community and doubly imperative in these years of racial persecution and racial tension.

"(3) This church has not and does not encourage Negroes to desert their own churches for membership or worship in this church. On the other hand, we do not close our doors, or discriminate against, or receive with aught but the spirit of Christian brotherhood any sincere worshipper who may present himself.

"(4) The officers of the church openly acknowledge the responsibility of the church to stand for the economic, educational, political, social, and religious progress of all peoples regardless of race, color or creed. As law-abiding citizens we have due regard for the laws of the state and the public policies of the people. We are conscious of the need for intelligent, gradual adjustment to new situations. We do have a long-range sense of the responsibility of the Christian church for leading the people in a gradually widening religious communion of the Church Universal. We pray God for the wisdom and the spirit which in these perplexing times will not alienate but win the people."

The Forward In Service Commission of the Episcopal Diocese of Louisiana has adopted a Plan of Action. Its Department of Christian Social Relations submitted two proposals with respect to international and interracial fellowship which were included in the plan. They follow:

"III. *International Fellowship.* It is recommended that study groups to consider post-war problems and race relations be organized.

"IV. 1) That the clergy take the lead in accepting Negro families as parishioners; 2) that Negroes be given the privilege of public worship; 3) that the diocese as a whole take a definite stand on the insistence on justice and equal economic and educational opportunities for Negroes; 4) that the clergy speak definitely about Christian attitudes; 5) that an opportunity for meeting together to discuss problems affecting both races be created; 6) that church groups read and study interracial problems; 7) that the clergy join the Southern Regional Council and disseminate the information among their people; 8) that the friendship and confidence of colored preachers who are key men and in position to influence the thinking of their race be sought and won; 9) that the woman's auxiliary be brought into this program and that the women of the church make a frank and serious study leading to the achievement of common justice to both races."

Labor For Southern Textile Mills

A number of recent news stories tell of the acute shortage of workers for Southern textile mills. Government officials have stated that plants are behind on production, that thousands of workers are needed, and that house to house recruiting will be done.

During this war the public has heard much about an exhausted labor supply. While it is true that there has been a deficiency of workers in many skills, it is also true that throughout this critical period of all-out war production, the South has had available and unemployed a large pool of labor. One source has been virtually untouched by industrial employment: Negro women.

Would it not be sound business practice for the cotton textile industry in the South to turn its attention to this almost untapped reservoir of womanpower? I seems neither patriotic nor profitable for machines to stand idle when there are ready, willing, and productive hands with which to operate them.

The time-worn cry will arise: "White workers would quit. It can't be done." IT IS BEING DONE—and successfully. A number of the largest textile plants in the South have been employing Negro women as machine operators for many months. One plant which employs more than 5,000 people is over 40% operated by Negroes, predominantly Negro women. That plant is meeting its production schedules, employee relations are good, and management is well pleased with the performance of the Negro women.

The story of that particular plant will be of interest to the public and to other textile operators. Recognizing that most human beings will accept changes if they understand why and if they feel they are getting a square deal, management paved the way solidly for the introduction of Negro women machine operators. Department by department, it educated its supervisory and then its general personnel. Patriotic appeals were made to the workers; a sense of job security was developed; opportunities for upgrading and advancement were presented; prejudice was combatted with an abundance of pleasant common sense; employer and employees talked it out; management took a firm but not coercive stand; an honest effort was made to "sell" the plan.

The integration began in the opening and picking room on one shift, then progressed to the card room, the drawing frames, and on into the spinning room. As each move was made, the white workers were consulted, and every practical effort was made to foresee the difficult spots and to make adjustments in advance. Today Negro women are employed as hopper feeders, card tenders, strippers, drawing-frame tenders and doffers, as well as cleaners and roving haulers.

What about results? The number of white workers lost was negligible; turnover and absenteeism have decreased; production is up to schedule; and that plant has no "labor shortage problem."

There can be no doubt that, regardless of a company's sectional location or past employment practices, Negro workers can be introduced into a plant or their employment opportunities extended, provided management really wants to use a total labor force and is willing to approach the situation squarely.

The technique is always important, and there are several agencies and groups which can furnish valuable assistance to textile plants which plan to make changes in their employment practices. An exchange of information and suggestions within the industry itself would be practicable; the War Manpower Commission (Regional Office, Grand Theater Building, Atlanta, Ga.) is in a position to render excellent professional service; the National Urban League, (Southern Division, 158½ Auburn Avenue, N. E., Atlanta, Ga.), is well equipped to assist management with the integration of Negro workers; the Southern Regional Council works for the attainment of equal opportunity for all people in the South, and is eager to lend its support to all efforts directed toward that goal.